

Power on the Pages of Textbooks: Examining Class Hierarchies

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Abstract: Children's literature had been discussed in a serious academic tone for at least four decades and is now a significant field of scholarship. Considering the continued relevance of social class to educational research in the twenty-first century, this article examines the representations of social class in school textbooks in Pakistan. The study is an attempt to initiate a dialogue about the establishment of class hierarchies in school textbooks and highlight how education systems are used to buttress power relation within the broader society, both through differentiations in the kind of knowledge offered to public and private schools students and the class politics played out in the school textbooks. Class hierarchies in 48 textbooks (*Urdu*, English and Social Studies) from class 1 to 8 of the public and private schools were analyzed with the help of critical discourse analysis. Drawing on insights from feminist poststructuralist and critical perspective, the study concludes that school textbooks in Pakistan are ideologically invested which contribute to social reproduction of class hierarchies and perpetuate the status quo.

Key words: Class hierarchies • Social reproduction • Critical perspective • Critical discourse analysis
• Feminist poststructuralist

INTRODUCTION

Children's literature has been discussed in a serious academic tone for at least four decades and is now a significant field of scholarship. School textbooks, particularly, gender representation in children's literature has been researched and discussed extensively since the early classic studies in the 1970s and 1980s [1-6]. However, few studies [7-9] examine how social class is represented in children's literature (school textbooks) and how textbooks contribute to the processes of social reproduction. It is important to highlight that the available studies are carried out by western scholars on children literature used in the western schools. Most of these studies highlighted the invisibility of working class and the frequent representation of middle class, dominantly white people. The concern, these studies voiced, is the dominance of white middle class in children literature. Our concern is not the invisibility of working class in children literature, but to examine how public and private schools textbooks are used to support power relations within the

wider society and perpetuate class hierarchies, both through differentiations in the kinds of knowledge offered to public and private schools students and how public and private schools' students and knowledge are protected from cross contamination [10]. Drawing on insight from feminist poststructuralist approach, the study attempts to explore how class politics is played on the pages of textbooks and how does school knowledge contribute to the process of social reproduction of class inequalities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). Social reproduction here refers to the processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people, specifically labour population and their labour power on generational basis. It also involves the development and transmission of knowledge, social values, cultural practices and the construction of individual and collective identities [11].

Drawing on insight from feminist Poststructuralists and critical perspective, Michel Foucault's approach to power / knowledge relationship is a fertile and persuasive concept for the analysis of the connection between power, knowledge and class. Keeping Foucault in view,

the study explains that what ends up as school knowledge (textbooks) and the decisions about what is taught and what is not arises from classed power / knowledge relations [12]. The focus here is school knowledge (textbooks). In order to highlight the power of texts (textbooks) it is deemed necessary to refer to Dorothy Smith [13] who argues that texts [school knowledge] are the essential medium of power in our society which shapes our inner worlds, the ways in which we think about ourselves and one another and about our society. In almost similar vein, Mcleod writes that textbooks give [children] visions of who they are, who an ideal person is, who they can be, what should they become in life and who should be their friends. It also helps in developing conception of identity. Similarly, Mem Fox [14] argues that “everything we read constructs us, makes us who we are, by presenting our image of ourselves”.

Having discussed the power of texts, the critical and poststructuralist perspectives also allow us to engage the work of Michael Apple. Drawing on Apple’s work [15, 16], we challenge the neutrality and objectivity of school knowledge in KPK and argue that textbooks (school knowledge) are conceived, designed, authored and taught by real people with real hegemonic interest. It is this insight that we establish a linkage between school knowledge and the complex structure of society. Following Apple, the study highlights how school textbooks are used as tools through which ‘social groups are given legitimacy and through which social, cultural and [economic] ideologies are re-created, maintained and continuously’ reproduced [17]. With this in mind, some general propositions about social reproduction are made. The analysis highlights how public and private schools operate as ‘ideological state apparatus’ [18] charged with the role of producing working class children as appropriate citizens in their respective social class locations and elite private schools as serving the aristocratic and bourgeois views of education [19]. The concern expressed throughout analysis and discussion is to illustrate the text in which the intention is producing certain attitudes, distorted beliefs and stereotypes about working and lower middle classes and idealizing elitists’ lifestyle which may affect students’ thoughts and ideas in some predetermined ways. Texts and illustrations are taken ‘real messages to and about the future’ [20] which are ideologically invested and not simply delivery system of facts or requirement for making

children literate. We quote one or two text(s) or illustration(s) that serve as evidence proving the validity of the claim about the reproduction and perpetuation of class hierarchies through textbooks. The paper concludes with the assertion that textbooks, both taught in the public and private schools, are ideologically invested that serve the interest of the dominant category in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and, therefore, may be understood as contributory factor in the reproduction of class inequalities.

The Study: The data for this study is derived from a larger study on school textbooks in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is important to highlight that textbooks play a central role in Pakistani education. They are the primary resources for classroom instruction and let us say, the key source of knowledge for working and lower middle class children. Therefore, the examination of class issue in school textbooks makes perfect sense to highlight how education systems are used to support power relation within the broader society. Pingel [21] argues that in textbook analysis, specifying the quantity is more essential than a precisely defined sample. Drawing on Pingel, a total of 48 textbooks (*Urdu*, English and Social Studies) from class 1 to 8 of the public and private schools were purposefully selected for the study. It is important to highlight that 24 textbooks (8 Urdu, 8 English and 8 Social Studies) taught in the public schools are prepared by Textbooks Board Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in line with guidelines of the National Curriculum, Federal Ministry of Education Islamabad. Whereas books taught in the elite private schools are prepared and published by private publishers, i.e. Oxford and some local private agencies. The choice of selecting *Urdu* and English textbooks was made on three grounds.

First, these text books encompass a wide range of social life education, i.e. religion, citizenship, health, family and environmental education as well as communication skills and career motivations. Second, in addition to basic literacy skill, these introduce children to cultural heritage, social norms and values, attitudes and so forth. Third, textbooks in these areas highlight those considered to be religious, national and other heroes of society. The paper employs critical discourse analysis (CDA). Being an analytical approach and perspective CDA not only describes the discourse but also explains how it affects its targeted audiences. With an insight from CDA, the paper focuses on how textbooks are used for

legitimizing the status quo, manipulating and creating subordinate consent among working class people. Employing critical discourse analysis, the following key questions remained the centre focus of analysis:

Where does the school knowledge come from? Whose knowledge is it? Who is privileged in the texts and images? What social group it supports? And how is it a contributing factor to the reproduction of class hierarchies? The deconstruction and interpretation of texts and images show that school textbooks are ideologically invested contributing to the perpetuation of the status quo. The identities formed by school knowledge are equally political and ultimately impinge upon the construction of society at large. The deconstructions and use of critical discourse analysis allow us to highlight how class politics is played out through school textbooks in Pakistan. The findings of the study included in this paper are summarized into the following themes:

- Reproduction of labour identities based on manual labour and denial of intellectual progress to working class children.
- Legitimization of socio-economic inequality and the creation of false consciousness among working class children.
- Killing the urge for upward social mobility among working class children and encouraging them towards child labour.

- Motivating the elite children to be academic “over achievers
- Elite privilege and working class deprivation of exposure to international academic credentials.
- Family portrayal in the public and private school textbooks.
- Creation of an apolitical mind set among the working class children
- Patriotism in the public and private schools textbooks

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Reproduction of Labour Identities Based on Manual Labour and Denial of Intellectual Progress to Working Class Children:

Regarding the reproduction of labour population and their labour power on generational basis, the study found that public school textbooks place persistent emphasis on manual hard work. Both texts and illustrations emphasize and idealize labour and manual hard work by citing examples from the life of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), previous prophets (Peace be Upon Them), sayings of national heroes, i.e. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Alama Muhammad Iqbal (see *Urdu new book for class III*, p, 5, 10, 66; *My Urdu Book for class V*, p 66-71; *Urdu for Class VI*, p51; *Urdu for Class VIII*, p 100). A few quotes from public school textbooks are presented here as evidence proving the validity of the concerns about the reinforcement of labour class position in society.

Translations	Original quotes
God Loves those who work with their own hands. (<i>My Urdu for Class III</i> ,p,4)	اپنے ہاتھ سے کام کرنے والوں کو اللہ پسند کرتا ہے۔ Discourse # 1
(Of course) no doubt/indeed these manual hard workers are Pakistan's identity and our honor. (<i>My Urdu Class V</i> , p 71)	بے شک یہ محنت کش پاکستان کی پہچان اور ہماری شان ہیں۔ Discourse # 2
[The farmer] is standing alone but is determined. The brave farmer is incredibly hardworking. (<i>My Urdu Book class III</i> , P,26)	اکیلا کھڑا ہے مگر سخت جان بڑا محنتی ہے بہادر کسان Discourse # 3

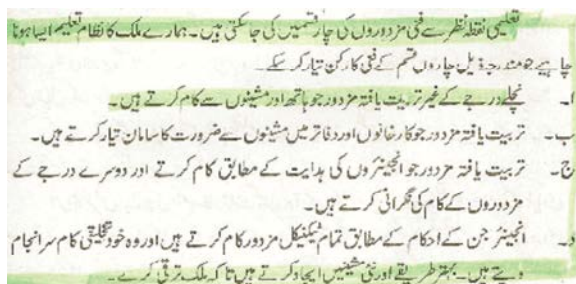
The concern here is not to undermine the importance of hard work but the persistent and obsessive emphasis on manual hard work instead of encouraging and preparing appropriately skilled and motivated young workers for knowledge based economy. What we see in *discourse # 1* is that, it sends out a strong message that manual hard work is a religious obligation that pleases God. This is constantly reminding the working and lower middle classes children that aspire for work other than manual hard work may bring Allah's disapproval to them. Similarly, *discourse # 2* associates manual hard work with national identity and honour. The point that we highlight here is that working class children are inculcated with *false consciousness* that their work and labour is their identity and honour of the country leaving which may defame the country. *Discourse # 3* presents the true spirit of capitalism. It conveys a plain message

Appendix-I

Jobs	Categories	F
Professional (C-1)	Vice chancellor, chief of army staff, air chief marshal, naval chief, inspector general of police, surgeons, chief executives and other top level management position,	00
Professional (C-2)	University professor (1), Doctors (11), Bank managers (1), Lawyers (1), engineers (1) Army personals (4), Air forces (4), Police Officer (1), Civil bureaucrats in first and second line management (1) forest officer (1)	22
Semi Professionals	School teachers (28), bank cashiers (1), traffic police (3), police inspector/constable (2), computer operator (3) and office assistant (5) nursing (2).	44
Business	Industry owner (1), business (5), (Shopkeepers (8 times)	14
Skilled manual	Car painters, Shoes makers, tailors, masons builders, carpet weavers, drivers, tailors, Artisans, electricians, car mechanics, bakers, black smiths, gold smith, utensil makers	61
Unskilled manual	Farming (30), wood cutter (3)	33

to working class people to handle and improve their lives on their own without state help. The point to be pondered upon is that public school textbooks do not narrate a single story which can motive working class children that education is the way out of poverty and it can be a source of improving one's socio-economic status. Instead, textbooks communicate a strong message to students (dominantly working and lower middle class children) that they are 'destined' at the outset of their schooling to join the labour force as semi-skilled and the lowest ranked unskilled labourer. The forthcoming discussion substantiates the aforementioned assertion.

Legitimization of Socio-Economic Inequality and the Creation of False Consciousness among Working Class Children: Appendix-I and a stream of messages throughout public school textbooks legitimize socio-economic inequality. Discourse # 4 (which is an excerpt from a public school textbook: *My Urdu textbook for class 8*, p 100) is one of the several texts that clearly lays out the aim of public education and legitimizes social inequality in society by making it a 'common sense' reality.

**Discourse # 4**

Translation: from educational point of view, technical labourers can be divided into four types. Our country [public] education should prepare the following four types of technical labourer:

- Lowest rank unskilled labourers who work with their hands or using machines;
- Skilled labourers who, while working in factories and offices, prepare things needed in our daily lives;
- Skilled labourers who work under the instructions of engineers and supervise the above two categories; and
- Engineers under whose supervision all the above categories work and they themselves do creative work and invent new machines for the development of the country.

(*My Urdu textbook for class VIII*, p 100)

Discourse # 4: Conveys several messages. First, the aim of public education is presented as labour producing factory rather than process and *field* of learning. Second, four types of workers are enumerated out of which three are unskilled, semi-skilled and rudimentary skilled. Thirds, the three categories which constitute the majority are non-agents who work as subordinate to machines or working under the surveillance of a small number of professional. Fourth, the non-agency of the majority is reinforced by referring to the first three categories of workers as technical workers (not requiring original thoughts and thinking), while referring to the fourth category (which constitutes the minority) as the creative workers possessing sophisticated knowledge, skills and leadership qualities. Having said this, we are asserting that *discourse # 4* sends out a very forceful message that the hierarchical division of the social world is a legitimate and absolute reality. Deconstructing the quote, we also argue that public school knowledge aims to convince working class children to accept social inequality as in class hierarchies as essential and necessary for society's equilibrium.

Killing the Urge for Upward Social Mobility among Working Class Children and Encouraging Them Towards Child Labour:

In the modern credential society, education is predominantly believed to promote upward social mobility. Building on discourses 1, 2, 3 and 4, we further assert that public school knowledge kills *the urge for upward social mobility among working class children*. The study found a stream of messages (i.e. *My Urdu New Book for Class V*, p 70; *Urdu new textbook for class II*, p 35; *My Urdu New Book for Class V*, p 105, *My English Reader for Class III*, p, 2; *Every Day English for Class VI*, 43) that encourage public schools children to become part of the job market and labour force. The excerpt in *discourse # 5* is one of the several texts that encourage child labour. *Discourse # 5* says: “*The Balochi boys are weaving carpet. They are making a beautiful design on it. They are very skilful. They got this skill from their elders. Carpet weaving is famous industry of Quetta*” (*Every Day English for Class VI*, p: 45).

Several messages ensue out of *discourse # 5*. First, it conveys the message that the working class children have to learn the skills of producing luxury goods for the elite. Second, the ultimate aim of working class labour is to please the elite. Thus working class children’s station in life is to please the elite. Third, working and lower middle class children never get out of their elders’ mode and thus perpetually putting themselves in their shoes. Forth, the quotes and the stories of this quote mystify the side effects and health hazards of the factory. Fifth, this entices public school children to join labour market as early as possible which vividly derails them from seeking education and thus upward mobility. The crux of the argument then is that, the dominant group uses textbooks as tools to keep working class and their children economically dependent on the economic and political elite.

This ideologically invested knowledge is embedded into textbooks despite the fact that article 11 (3) of the constitutions of Pakistan prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or any other hazardous employment. Also see ‘The Employment of Children Act (ECA) 1991’ and Pakistan official commitment to International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182); ILO Forced Labour Convention (No. 29); ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (No. 105); UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (Government

of Pakistan, 2003). The point to be highlighted is that despite these official comments, people in the helm of affairs encourage child labour and reproduce class structure by encouraging majority of the working class children into unskilled and semi-skilled labour. What needs to be highlighted here that, public school textbooks do not carry a single lesson or quote that motivates working class children to get education and use the same as a way out of poverty and means of improving their socio-economic status. On the contrary, school knowledge motivates them to join the labour force as early as possible by encouraging child labour. As discussed and deconstructed, *discourse # 4* sends out an explicit message to working and lower middle class children to navigate their ways into lower niches of society. These messages provide significant support for Apple’s thesis that ‘formal and informal knowledge [in schools] is used as a complex filter to process people often by class...different dispositions and values are taught to different populations [in different school systems] often by class’.

Motivating the Elite Children to Be Academic “Over Achievers”:

In stark contrast to public schools school knowledge, the elite private schools textbooks strongly emphasize studies and intellectual hard work as the only way to their successful lives. The study findings show that a stream of motivational and inspirational messages regarding academic achievements and education as the basis of successful life have been circulated through elite private school textbooks (see for example *My Book for Class III*, p, 6, 7, 10, 31; *Master Sahib for Class VIII*, p 17, 70, 78, 81, *Urdu Book for Class IV*, p 3, 21, 97). *My Book for Class III*, p 37, for example, communicates a strong message to the private schools students (dominantly belong to elite and professional middle classes) that their deep and regular interest in their studies would ensure their high grades in examination and ultimately successful life

یہی حال ان طالب علموں کا ہے جو سال بھر محنت اور شوق سے پڑھتے ہیں۔ سکول کا کام تو یہ ہے کہ
کرتے ہیں۔ اُستاد اور ماں باپ کے بتائے ہوئے اصولوں پر چلتے ہیں اور امتحان میں کامیاب ہوتے ہیں۔

Discourse # 6: [Successful students are those] who study with interest and zeal throughout the year. Those who do their schoolwork with concentration, follow their parents and teachers guidelines and get success in examination (*My Book for Class III*, p 37)

Similarly, a quote from the *Step Ahead 3* (p: 137) sends out a very powerful inspirational message to the private school learners how Wu Mei (a female) made her good career and achieved success in life through education. The excerpt from the cited book narrates: "*Wu Mei's....doting Aunt Baba Always encourages her efforts and her school work. A hard-working and talented student, Wu Mei consistently wins class medals and awards and is even elected class president...her scholarly abilities ultimately paved her way to a better future*". (Discourse # 7)

Discourse # 7: Carries many key messages: a) elite parents' responsibility to work with their children and help them in their homework; b) the aim of studying and schooling is to compete and get awards and medals; c) credential markers are put forth as the aims of education; d) training elite children to be competitive to defeat others and emerge as conquerors and snatchers of academic markers and awards; e) creating mind-sets among elite children that undermine cooperation help other students fellows in general and working classes in particular; f) constructing elite children as highly competitive professionals for laissez-Faire capitalist economy and self-interest maximization; g) erasing the relational instinct among elite and professional middle class children which is basic and pivotal to human existence.

Elite Privilege and Working Class Deprivation of Exposure to International Academic Credentials: Private schools' textbooks not only stress education but also communicate a strong motivational message to the elite and professional middle class children for seeking their education abroad, i.e. *The Mystery Aagnee Ruby* on page 28, for example, describes Hassan planning higher education in America. "...like Amina, [Hassan] spent most of the year in boarding school, but was seventeen and soon going to America for further studies". (Discourse # 8)

Discourse # 8: Sends out three important messages. Firstly, it forcefully communicates that seeking education in America guarantees bright career and success in life as in the context of Pakistan, educational degree and certificate from western colleges and universities are valued more than the local ones. Secondly, only boys may go abroad for education not girls which reinforces the patriarchal social structure of Pakistan. Third point to be pondered upon here is that, the elite boys even before

they turn adult they are encouraged to be independent, explore their capabilities in academically and socially alien and challenging context. This in turn prepares them for meeting the challenges of highly demanding knowledge professions in the global economy that they are expected to pursue.

Deconstructing the cited discourse, our assertion is that, unlike public school textbooks, elite school textbooks motivate the elite children to accumulate cultural capital from Western universities. The point to be noted here is that the boarding schools and education abroad are the privileges and advantages available to the elite in society. Bourdieu argues that those at the top of the class structure provide a variety of advantages to their children that enable them to maintain wealth and privileges [22]. Children of the wealthy are more likely than others to receive cultural capital: various forms of knowledge, dispositions and skills [ibid]. The possession of cultural capital, like economic capital, allows children of the wealthy to be wealthy when they become adult [23]. Persell *et. al.* argues that boarding schools facilitate the passage of privileges and contribute to the reproductions of upper class solidarity in a society [24].

Family Portrayal in the Public and Private School Textbooks: Family discourses are important sites of power exercise. Keeping this in mind, the study analyzed the presentation of family in school textbooks. The study's findings suggest that public schools textbooks present two forms of families: working and middle class families. Family of the professional middle class, especially nuclear family, is idealized as the standard and normal family across classes. Middle class nuclear families are presented as '*happy family*'. For example, in *My English Reader for Class V*, p, 2, Ali introduces his family: *I am Ali. I am twelve years old...My father is professor...My mother is doctor...we are a happy family* (Discourse # 9). Similarly, Ali, in the same book, introduces his friend's family: *Salma is my friend. She is ten years old...Salma's father is a pilot...her mother is a bank officer...they are a happy family* (Discourse # 10). These discourses throughout the textbooks associate happiness and well-being with white collar profession and money. There are plenty of examples where girls or boys from working class or blue collar families introduce their families but without such description that 'we are happy families' (i.e. *Urdu Textbook for Class I*, p14; *Urdu New Textbook for Class II*, p 4; *Social Studies for Class I*, p 12, 31; *Textbook of*

English for Class I, p117). In *My English Reader for Class IV* (p19) Aamna introduces her family as: *I am Aamna. My mother is telephone operator. My father is a computer operator (Discourse # 11)*. As evident from discourse # 11, there is no such phrase as “we are happy family”. As highlighted, discourses # 9 and 10 send out a vivid message that a family can get happiness only when both parents are alive, holding professional jobs in the public domain, have two children and living as a nuclear family. Such stories strengthen the idea that happiness reside in professional middle class families and fail to teach that ‘it is possible to live a decent and happy life without a white collar profession and great wealth [25]. On the contrary, working and lower middle class families are not portrayed as happy families as evident from *discourse # 11*. The point that we highlight here is that in each of these cases the family consists of father, mother and children which I the presentation of an ideal world not the real. Our assertion then is that textbooks fail to represent the diversity of family institution by considering the variation in family across classes, geographical location (rural-urban and overseas) and one parent family (where either father or mother is absent due to death or divorce). Equally important is the absence of discussion about elite families in public school textbooks, which in turn means that working and lower middle classes don’t need to know about rulers / ‘the haves’.

In stark contrast to public school textbooks, private school textbooks are full of stories and lessons that have elitist family stories. There is a stream of lessons and stories (i.e. the textbooks *Jalebia* for Class VII, p1; *Master* for Class VIII, p18, 59, 78; *My Urdu Book for Class III*, p 6) that represent family in an elitist way and as an institution in the international setting: a family where father, being the breadwinner, is abroad and the mother, being a perfect homemaker, is in Pakistan. *My Urdu Book for Class III*, p 6, for example, describes the father coming from America with a lot of gifts, including computer for his children. Similarly, *The Mystery Aagnee Ruby* sends out many messages to elite private schools students about elitist family life style. These stories show several elite families going out together for outing. The messages that ensue of the stores in *The Mystery Aagnee* are: First, the elite children must make friendships with children belonging to their own class only. Second, these excursions with “their own kind” provide the elite children

a space where they can develop friendships, long term relationship and lifelong associations with those possessing the same kind of economic and cultural capitals. Some of these stories become conduits of communicating the message that foreign academic qualifications and high flown career paths are an essential element for leading a good and happy life (*see discourse 8*). Our assertion here is that, family portrayal and differentiation in the kind of family discourses in the public and private school textbooks contribute towards the reproduction of existing hierarchical social structure of society and protects class boundaries.

Creation of an Apolitical Mind Set among the Working Class Children: Throughout the public school textbooks, political education has tended to be neglected as part of the official curriculum and formal teaching and learning process. The only political education that makes part of the formal curriculum is embedded in the biographies of religious personalities and leaders of independence movement. However, these do not aim making students politically informed citizens in the 21st century. The only discussion about state and changing governments was found in *My Urdu for Class V*, (p132) which is a fairy tale but can be taken as the best reflection of Pakistani politics. The referred story, nevertheless, communicates a message that the real power of decision making regarding Pakistan society is vested in external forces and not with the people of Pakistan. The point that we highlight here is that public school knowledge fails to create politically informed mass (working and lower middle classes) that would reject the current hegemonic and exploitative political, economic and social system and establish a democratic, enlightened and egalitarian culture. Thus the current textbooks aims at constructing working and lower middle class children as an impotent mass community that will have no say in the affairs of the state.

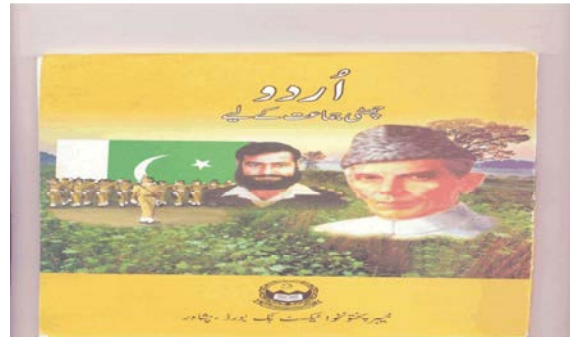
In stark contrast to public schools textbooks, private school textbooks carry a stream of messages which aim at educating private school students about government activities, i.e. in *My Book for Class III*, p 85-86; *Urdu for Class 6*, p 36; *The Turbulent Term of Tyke*, p 29, 36; *The mystery Aagnee Rub*, p: 10). *My Book for Class III*, p 85-86, for example, portray Mr. Maaz’s mother as a union council Nazim¹. In the cited story she educates her son-

¹ Nazim in Pakistan is an elected government official. Union Council is the fifth tier of government in Pakistan which is headed by Nazim. Thus Union council Nazim is the political head of a Union Council.

Mr. Maaz- about political administration, the state duties and funding for development projects etc. Urdu for Class 6, p 36 demonstrates the role of students in Pakistan independence movements which, in turn, gives a message that only private school pupils need to be politically active. The message being communicated is that politics is the prerogative of the already advantaged people and only their children need “political socialization” [26]. Understanding these textbooks within Foucauldian conceptualization of power / knowledge leads us to argue that textbooks are inextricably bound to broader social contexts of cultural and political struggle.

Patriotism in the Public and Private Schools Textbooks: Schools around the world teach patriotism [27]. Brint writes that teaching patriotism was [is] one of the primary aims of mass schooling. He further argues that children of the nations were taught patriotism with the aim that they will fight for the royal elite and the system [28]. Keeping this in view, this study examined schooling and patriotism in Pakistan as one of the variable. Classifying texts and illustrations about patriotism, the study found that patriotic discourses are embedded into public school textbooks that extoll the virtues of the society’s founders (Urdu New Book for Class II, p 45; Urdu New Book for Class III, p 47, 71; My Urdu Book for Class IV, p 26), their struggle for freedom from oppression and the struggle and braveries of the past heroes (My Urdu Book for Class V, p 97; My Urdu Book for Class IV, p 36). Only in Urdu and English language textbooks (from class 1 to 8) 49 full length lessons (out of the total 452 lessons) have been allocated to patriotism. In additions to these lessons, cover pages of most of the public school textbooks are decorated with the pictures of national heroes. Appendix- II is one of the several cover page that instill patriotism.

Conversely, in the private schools textbooks only 13 (out of 413) lessons are dedicated to patriotism. Private schools’ textbooks are not only sanitized of patriotic messages but teach patriotism of other countries, i.e. *The Turbulent Term of Tyke*, p 45. What we argue here is that, instilling patriotism in public schools’ students who dominantly come from working and lower middle classes [29] and keeping the elite and professional middle classes’ children unaffected by patriotic messages create different world views among the private and public schools’ students. The differentiations in the kinds of knowledge offered to public and private school students,



Appendix- II

as highlighted in Appendix-II and numerical data presented on page 21, create different world views among the private and public schools’ students. These different world views alienate the elite and professional middle classes from working and lower middle classes. This, in turn, creates and produces different and differentially located ‘categories’ of citizens: for example, working and lower middles classes as ‘Other’ of elite and professional middle classes. The point to be pondered upon here is that the differentiations in the kind of knowledge imparted to different classes increases ideological polarization between the haves (elite and professional middle classes) and the have-not (working and lower middle classes) which, in turn, furthers the possibility of conflict in Pakistani society and makes it prone to violence. Thus multiplicity of education systems creates a regime of segregation by class.

If school textbooks offer visions of who we are, who an ideal person is, who we can be, what should we become in life and who should be our friends and also ‘help in developing conception of identity’ [9], we, then, argue that public textbooks are used to support power relations within the wider society by locking working and lower middle class children in their respective class locations. We further asserts that private schools textbooks aim at motivating private schools students for career through educational credential (valued cultural capital) which, in turn, will enable them to trade this for economic capital (job) and finally to engage themselves as successful citizens in the global world.

CONCLUSION

This study brought into debate how social class and school knowledge (textbooks) proved to be a landmark for educational research in 21st century.

Drawing on Apple's assertion that texts are really messages [to the students] about the future, we argue that school knowledge in contemporary KPK is used to "re-create and maintain" social and cultural ideology prevailing in the wider society which, in turn, contributes to the reproduction of class inequalities. Considering the ideological and constitutive functions of school textbooks, we claim that textbooks are important sites where the *cold war* of class struggle is fought out [30]. Drawing on insight from feminist poststructuralists' and critical perspective, we argue that loading public school textbooks with blue collar jobs, obsessive emphasis on manual hard work, patriotism, derogative (re)presentation of working class people and keeping working class children ignorant from labour class history, political affairs and social inequalities in society; while exposing children of the elite and professional middle classes to elitist family discourses, strong emphasis on education and careers, instilling political awareness and ideal life style through private schools' textbooks may be seen as contributing factors to the perpetuation of class inequalities in KPK, Pakistan. Similarly, the differentiations in the kinds of knowledge offered to public and private schools students may disable youngsters to understand and respect the uniqueness of each being and true rights and responsibilities towards one another. Moreover, the exclusion of cross-class relations in the textbooks may deprive working class children of developing critical thinking and of assessing different viewpoints. It does not prepare them to recognize and value differences, know inequalities in their society, think of justice and challenge unfairness. At the same time, keeping the elite and the professional middle class children unaware of the issues and lives of the working class people makes the working class 'Other' of the them. Thus texts and images in textbooks provide considerable support to the claim that school knowledge is '*selective tradition*': powerful group's selection, their vision of legitimate knowledge which sets the canon of truthfulness, cultural norms, beliefs and morality which dominantly serves their interest and is disadvantageous for working and lower middle classes [31]. This also reflects Apple's thesis that the selection and organization of knowledge for schools is an ideological process, one that serves the interests of particular classes and social groups. These textbooks may contribute to young children's learning of class bias like they learn sexism.

If children do gain ideas and impressions about the world around them from the textbooks they read and that textbooks help them in 'developing conceptions of identity', as argued by McLeod, it is surely important for policy makers and educationists to know what kind of world the books portray. Studies like this do assist in the development of school textbooks that speak about class inequality, past and present. The study emphasizes the review of school textbooks with a critical lens and stresses that new texts and images are needed that can/may help in the understanding that the world can indeed be reconstructed in a fair manner for all. This study is only a beginning in the context of Pakistan and emphasizes on opening up new vistas for further research on school textbooks focusing on social class representation.

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